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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white."

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breath-holder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atàsà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

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554 302 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say: "The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at 614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the 623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has •631 been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets 642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 246.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 283.

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came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[82] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmā'yāgi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łáko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nági. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

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In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

[82] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Oeecochee," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkutci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

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619 631 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta. Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another." [54]

619 631 642 648 177 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugurated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1754, Ms.

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town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 573. [56] Ibid., p. 736.

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missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[47]

It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[48]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[49]

Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[47] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 562.

[48] French Ms. of 1758.

[49] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlocctobo" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Eikatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[84]

In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikági Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[85]

Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[87]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[84] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-14.
[85] Ibid., p. 15.
[87] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

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642 631 643 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 631 622 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 646 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [88]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[88] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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642 646 Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

642 631 622 A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottoesy.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [1]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łałogałga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[1] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánagi láko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

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Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

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[86] Pope, Tour, p. 66.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. i, p. 760) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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"2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

"3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjámi Tástánągi], of Woc-cocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hadjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Immook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." [88]

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To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tástánągi łáko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tástánągi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51–52.
[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.
[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."